

Message Text

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INFO AMCONSUL BREMEN

AMCONSUL DUSSELDORF

AMCONSUL FRANKFURT

AMCONSUL HAMBURG

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMCONSUL STUTTGART

USMISSION USBERLIN

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AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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SUBJECT: GERMAN YOUTH - 30 YEARS AFTER WORLD WAR II

REF: BONN A-212, BONN 7460

BEGIN SUMMARY: WHILE MANY CONTEMPORARY GERMAN POLITICAL LEADERS SUCH AS CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT OR CSU LEADER STRAUSS SERVED AS YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II, THERE IS A GROWING NUMBER OF YOUNG GERMANS ENTERING OR ALREADY PARTICIPATING IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS WHO WERE CHILDREN OR NOT YET BORN IN APRIL 1945. THIS NEW GENERATION IS THE PRODUCT OF A VERY DIFFERENT HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE. THE QUESTION ARISES WHETHER THIS NEW GENERATION OF WEST GERMANS SHARES THE POLITICAL AND UNCLASSIFIED

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SOCIAL VALUES OF THEIR ELDERS WHO HAVE GOVERNED THE

FEDERAL REPUBLIC FOR THE LAST 27 YEARS. MOST ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS AMONG GERMAN YOUTH HAS CONCENTRATED ON UNIVERSITY ELITES AND THE CONSPICUOUS POLITICALLY ENGAGED YOUNG PEOPLE. GRANTING THAT THESE GROUPS PLAY A SPECIAL ROLE AS OPINION LEADERS, THEY REPRESENT ONLY A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF GERMAN YOUTH. RECENT STUDIES OF YOUNG GERMANS BETWEEN FOURTEEN AND TWENTY-FOUR MADE BY LEADING AND RELIABLE WEST GERMAN SOCIAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS CONTRADICT THE POPULAR (AND MEDIA) VIEW THAT GERMAN YOUTH IS HIGHLY POLITICIZED AND RADICAL. ACCORDING TO THESE STUDIES, GERMAN YOUNG PEOPLE ARE STABLE, BETTER EDUCATED, LESS POLITICALLY ENGAGED (POSSIBLY LESS POLITICALLY INFORMED), RELATIVELY TRADITIONAL IN PERSONAL VALUES, AND MORE "PROGRESSIVE" IN SOCIAL QUESTIONS THAN THEIR ELDERS. THEY, LIKE THEIR ELDERS, REJECT POLITICAL EXTREMISM AND THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IS SATISFIED WITH THE WEST GERMAN POLITICAL SYSTEM. OBSERVATION INDICATES THEY ARE ALSO LESS POSITIVE ABOUT THE UNITED STATES (DUE IN LARGE PART TO THE AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN VIETNAM) THAN YOUNG GERMANS IN THE 1950'S AND EARLY 60'S. AT THE SAME TIME THEY ARE NOT VERY KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE US. IF WE WISH FUTURE LEADERS OF THIS IMPORTANT ALLY TO CONTINUE THE CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE UNITED STATES THAT HAS EXISTED SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO EDUCATE THEM ABOUT THE SHARED FOREIGN POLICY GOALS OF THE FRG AND THE US AND TO MAKE THEM BETTER INFORMED ABOUT AMERICAN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS. THE US GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED AND SUPPORTED EXCHANGE PROGRAMS OFFER A PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE TOOL FOR CARRYING OUT THIS TASK. THE POST STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT THESE PROGRAMS BE EXPANDED, ESPECIALLY THOSE INVOLVING YOUNG OR POTENTIAL LEADERS. GERMAN YOUTH REPRESENT A POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY HEALTHY SEGMENT OF A STABLE AND POWERFUL ALLY AND INCREASED EFFORTS ON OUR PART SHOULD REAP DIVIDENDS. END SUMMARY.

1. CONSIDERABLE THOUGHT AND ANALYSIS HAS BEEN GIVEN TO THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC 30 YEARS
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AFTER THE END OF WORLD WAR II IN EUROPE. "TIME MAGAZINE" (EUROPEAN EDITION) HAS CHARACTERIZED GERMANY AS EUROPE'S MOST SUCCESSFUL SOCIETY AND IT IS CLEAR BY ALMOST ANY MEASURE THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IS IN GOOD SHAPE, PARTICULARLY WHEN COMPARED TO MOST OF HER EUROPEAN NEIGHBORS. PRESENT-DAY WEST GERMANY, HOWEVER, IS LARGELY GOVERNED BY A GENERATION OF POLITICIANS THAT EXPERIENCED WORLD WAR II AND THE IMMEDIATE POSTWAR PE-

RIOD AS ADULTS. EVEN SUCH POLITICIANS AS CHANCELLOR
HELMUT SCHMIDT OR CSU LEADER FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS, AL-
THOUGH FREE OF MUCH OF THE HISTORICAL AND MORAL BAGGAGE
OF THE PREVIOUS GENERATION WHO WERE ADULTS THROUGH-
OUT THE NAZI PERIOD, SERVED AS YOUNG MILITARY OFFICERS
AT THE END OF THE WAR. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, YOUNG GER-
MANS ENTERING OR ALREADY PARTICIPATING IN THE POLITICAL
PROCESS, WHO WERE CHILDREN OR NOT YET BORN AT THE CON-
CLUSION OF HOSTILITIES.

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2. THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL VALUES OF THIS POSTWAR
GENERATION, BECAUSE OF THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE

US-GERMAN RELATIONS, ARE OF DIRECT INTEREST TO THE US GOVERNMENT. IT IS EXTREMELY RISKY AND PERHAPS INTELLECTUALLY FOOLHARDY TO PREDICT THE FUTURE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN ANY COUNTRY. HOWEVER, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE THAT THE YOUTH OF GERMANY IS MUCH MORE STABLE THAN CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WOULD LEAD US TO BELIEVE. GERMAN YOUTH IS FIRST OF ALL HETEROGENEOUS AND CHARACTERISTICS SUCH AS SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CLASS, EDUCATION AND SEX MAY, IN FACT, BE MORE DETERMINATIVE THAN THE AGE FACTOR (E.G., YOUNG WORKERS PROBABLY SHARE MORE VALUES WITH OLDER WORKERS THAN THEY DO WITH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS OF THEIR OWN

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AGE).

3. THE BLUE JEANS INFORMALITY OF PRESENT-DAY GERMAN YOUTH STANDS IN GREAT CONTRAST TO EVEN TEN YEARS AGO. THE STYLE AND APPEARANCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN HAMBURG, MUNICH AND BERLIN ARE NOT VERY DIFFERENT THAN THEY ARE IN NEW YORK, CHICAGO OR SAN FRANCISCO. AT A UNIVERSITY OR AT A "POP GROUP" CONCERT ONE WOULD BE HARD PRESSED TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN GERMANS AND AMERICANS ON THE BASIS OF OUTWARD APPEARANCE. HOWEVER, THE SIMILARITIES IN STYLE BETWEEN AMERICAN AND GERMAN YOUTH MASK SOME IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES.

4. MOST MEDIA AND FOR THAT MATTER POLITICAL ANALYSTS HAVE FOCUSED THEIR ATTENTION ON DEVELOPMENTS AMONG THE UNIVERSITY ELITES AND OTHER POLITICALLY ENGAGED YOUTH (E.G., POLITICAL PARTY YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS). THESE GROUPS ARE IMPORTANT, PARTICULARLY AS MOLDERS OF POLITICAL OPINION, BUT THEY REPRESENT A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF GERMAN YOUTH (E.G., OF THE 18 MILLION WEST GERMANS BETWEEN 14 AND 35, ONLY APPROXIMATELY 500,000 ARE MEMBERS OF THE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE THREE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES).

5. RECENT STUDIES OF GERMAN YOUTH BETWEEN 14 AND 24 BY MAJOR GERMAN SOCIAL RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS (USUALLY COMMISSIONED TO DO SO BY THE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTIES) OFFER SOME INSIGHTS INTO THE THINKING OF THE LARGE MASS OF GERMAN YOUTH WHICH, IN THE PAST, HAS TO A LARGE DEGREE BEEN IGNORED. GERMANS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 14 AND 24 AS A GROUP ARE BETTER EDUCATED THAN THEIR ELDERS (E.G., ONE STUDY INDICATED THAT AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE FROM A WORKING CLASS BACKGROUND APPROXIMATELY 20 WERE BEING EDUCATED FOR WHITE COLLAR POSITIONS). GIRLS, ON THE AVERAGE, RECEIVE LESS EDUCATION THAN BOYS, MARRY EARLIER, AND DEMONSTRATE LESS INTEREST IN POLITICS. THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE IN THE DEGREE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPA-

TION BETWEEN YOUNG WIVES AND THEIR MOTHERS.

6. THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF YOUNG GERMANS FEEL THAT THEIR PARENTS ARE INDULGENT NT (NACHGIEBIG) (79 PERCENT, UNCLASSIFIED

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COMPARED WITH 19 PERCENT WHO FELT THEIR PARENTS WERE STRICT). AT THE SAME TIME, THE POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF THE GERMAN PARENTS APPEARS TO HAVE DIMINISHED (40 PERCENT OF THE 14 TO 17 YEAR OLDS LOOK TO THEIR FATHER FOR POLITICAL GUIDANCE, 31 PERCENT OF THE 18-20 YEAR OLDS AND 22 PERCENT OF THE 21-24 YEAR OLDS). ONE REASON FOR THIS COULD BE THAT IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD MANY GERMAN PARENTS, BURDENED WITH THE GUILT OF THE NAZI REGIME, TURNED THEIR BACKS ON POLITICS AND CONCENTRATED THEIR PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL ENERGIES ON BUILDING THEIR DEVASTATED COUNTRY. IN ANY EVENT, YOUNG GERMANS TO A LARGE EXTENT LOOK OUTSIDE THE FAMILY TO FRIENDS, COLLEAGUES, ORGANIZATIONS, ETC. FOR POLITICAL GUIDANCE. ALTHOUGH THE STUDIES DO NOT BREAK DOWN THE DATA ON THE BASIS OF PARTY AFFILIATION, IT CAN BE ASSUMED THAT YOUNG CDU SYMPATHIZERS (GIVEN THE GREATER FAMILY ORIENTATION AMONG CDU VOTERS IN GENERAL) ARE MORE LIKELY TO LOOK TOWARD THEIR PARENTS FOR GUIDANCE THAN YOUNG PEOPLE WHO IDENTIFY WITH OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES.

7. ACCORDING TO ONE STUDY, THE VALUES YOUNG GERMANS BELIEVE SHOULD BE STRESSED IN RAISING CHILDREN CONTINUE TO BE TRADITIONAL GERMAN QUALITIES OF HONESTY, CLEANLINESS, PROPER BEHAVIOR AND DILIGENCE. AT THE SAME TIME, ANOTHER GERMAN SOCIAL SCIENTIST, FRAU NOELLE-NEUMANN, HAS FOUND THAT THE TRADITIONAL BOURGEOIS VALUES OF COMPETITION, THRIFT, AND RESPECT FOR PROPERTY HAVE DECLINED AMONG WEST GERMANS IN GENERAL AND YOUTH IN PARTICULAR. IRONICALLY, THIS HAS TAKEN PLACE WHEN THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE GERMAN WORKERS HAS BECOME BOURGEOIS.

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8. YOUNG GERMANS READ LESS, WATCH LESS TV AND LISTEN TO NEWS AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS RADIO PROGRAMS LESS THAN THEIR ELDERS. THEY ARE LESS INTERESTED IN POLITICS THAN OLDER GERMANS. RECENT ELECTIONS THROUGHOUT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC INDICATE THAT A SMALLER PERCENTAGE OF ELIGIBLE YOUNG PEOPLE VOTE THAN OLDER GERMANS. AMONG THOSE WHO BELONG TO A POLITICAL PARTY (ONE STUDY SHOWED THAT ONLY ABOUT SIX PERCENT ARE PARTY MEMBERS) A HIGHER PERCENTAGE IS ATTRACTED TO THE SPD THAN TO THE OTHER TWO MAJOR PARTIES, ALTHOUGH AMONG THE 14-17 YEAR OLD GROUP THE RATIO IS NOT SO GREAT IN FAVOR OF THE SPD. THIS IS FURTHER REFLECTED IN THE SUCCESS OF THE CDU HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZATION, THE "SCHUELER-UNION" IN RECENT YEARS. YOUNG GERMANS ARE UNCLASSIFIED

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MORE PROGRESSIVE (LIBERAL BY AMERICAN STANDARDS) ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS THAN THEIR ELDERS BUT THEY OVERWHELMINGLY REJECT THE RADICALISM OF THE LEFT OR RIGHT. THEIR VOTING BEHAVIOR INDICATES THAT THEY ARE LESS LIKELY TO BE TIED BY LOYALTY TO A PARTICULAR PARTY THAN OLDER VOTERS. FOR EXAMPLE, MANY OF THE LARGE NUMBER OF NEW VOTERS WHO

PREFERRED THE SPD IN 1972, CHOSE THE CDU/CSU IN THE 1974/75 LAENDER ELECTIONS. THIS PICTURE OF STABILITY (ONE COULD SAY NORMALCY) IS REASSURING, AT LEAST TO THE DEGREE THAT THERE ARE NOT LARGE SEGMENTS OF GERMAN YOUTH WHO ARE ATTRACTED TO POLITICAL EXTREMISM. AT THE SAME TIME ONE NEGATIVE EFFECT OF HISTORICAL IGNORANCE AND LACK OF POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT WAS ILLUSTRATED IN A RECENTLY PUBLISHED POLL (BONN A-212) SHOWING THAT YOUNG GERMANS ARE NOT FULLY AWARE OF THE HORRORS OF THE NAZI PERIOD.

9. SOME CONCLUSIONS WHICH CAN BE DRAWN ON THE BASIS OF RECENT STUDIES, VOTING BEHAVIOR, AND FIRST-HAND OBSERVATIONS OF THE GERMAN POLITICAL SCENE ARE: GERMAN YOUTH ARE POLITICALLY STABLE; THEIR VALUE SYSTEMS ARE RELATIVELY TRADITIONAL REGARDING INDIVIDUAL VALUES AND PROGRESSIVE REGARDING SOCIAL VALUES; THE MAJORITY OF YOUNG GERMANS IS NOT POLITICALLY ACTIVE AND OF THOSE WHO ARE, RELATIVELY FEW ARE ATTRACTED TO POLITICAL EXTREMISM.

10. GERMAN YOUTH'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES HAVE CHANGED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE ENTHUSIASM FOR ALL THINGS AMERICAN WHICH CHARACTERIZED WEST GERMANY IN THE 1950'S IS A THING OF THE PAST, ALTHOUGH THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE (FILMS, MUSIC, DRESS, ETC.) IS STILL QUITE STRONG. GERMAN YOUTH TEND TO BE MORE CRITICAL OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY THAN IN THE PAST. THEIR DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES' ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS RESULTING FROM THE AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN VIETNAM MAKES IT EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT THEY LEARN ABOUT THE SHARED GOALS OF US AND GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY. TO DO SO WILL REQUIRE TIME, PATIENCE, RESOURCES AND ENERGY.

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11. AMONG THOSE WHO COME IN CONTACT WITH YOUNG GERMANS IT IS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THEIR INTEREST IN AND KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AMERICAN SOCIETY AND POLITICS AS WELL AS AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IS NOT WHAT IT SHOULD BE. THIS IS PARTLY A FUNCTION OF THE EMPHASIS GERMAN YOUNG PEOPLE HAVE IN RECENT YEARS PLACED ON EUROPE (WEST AND EAST). IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN THE CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP THAT HAS BEEN A HALLMARK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN COOPERATION SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO DEVOTE MORE ENERGY AND RESOURCES TO THE TASK OF INFORMING YOUNG GERMANS ABOUT THE HEALTH AND VITALITY OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM AS WELL AS THE GOALS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. THE US

GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED AND SUPPORTED EXCHANGE PROGRAMS
OFFER ONE MEANS TO ASSIST IN ACCOMPLISHING THIS GOAL.
WITHOUT EXCEPTION, GERMANS, BE THEY CONSERVATIVE OR LIB-
ERAL, HAVE COME BACK FROM STUDY VISITS TO THE UNITED
STATES WITH INCREASED UNDERSTANDING AND INTEREST IN OUR
COUNTRY.

12. IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT WE LOOK FOR WAYS TO EXPAND
EXISTING EXCHANGE PROGRAMS, ESPECIALLY THOSE INVOLVING
YOUNG OR POTENTIAL LEADERS, IN ORDER TO INSURE THAT THE
EMERGING GENERATION OF WEST GERMAN POLITICAL LEADERS
REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. THE POLITI-
CAL AND SOCIAL HEALTH OF GERMAN YOUTH 30 YEARS AFTER
THE WAR IS ENCOURAGING AND THEY REPRESENT A FUTURE ASSET
IF WE ARE WILLING TO MAKE THE EFFORT.
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